Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

# Message Text

PAGE 01 PARIS 17349 01 OF 02 231426 Z

40
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 RSR-01 OMB-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 EB-11 ACDA-19

MBFR-03 /136 W
---------- 035045
R 231257 Z JUN 73
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1256
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 17349

E. O. 11652 : GDS
TAGS: PFOR, FR- US, EEC, NATO
SUBJECT: FRANCE AND THE YEAR OF EUROPE

1. WHILE PROCEDURAL DIFFICULTIES AT LEAST HAVE BEEN TEMPORARILY PUT ASIDE, FRANCE REMAINS UNCONVINCED OF THE BASIC NEED TO REVITALIZE THE TRANS- ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP. U. S. GOAL OF DEVELOPING A NEW CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF COMMON
SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 17349 01 OF 02 231426 Z

PRINCIPLES PLACING IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE THE SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONS FACING THE ATLANTIC/ INDUSTRIAL NATIONS - TRADE, MONETARY REFORM, SECURITY, BURDENSHARING AND ENERGY - HAS BEEN MET WITH RESERVE. THIS IN TURN

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

COULD AFFECT ADVERSELY THE EFFORT TO CONVINCE US OPINION
THAT THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP IS SUFFICIENTLY
IMPORTANT AND SUFFICIENTLY CAPABLE OF TRANSFORMATION
TO VALIDATE THE CONTINUATION OF OUR BROAD COMMITMENT TO
EUROPE.

2. FRANCE ' S REACTION TO " THE YEAR OF EUROPE" IS
FOUNDED ON SOME BASIC TENETS OF POMPIDOLIAN FOREIGN
POLICY:

A. NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE;

B. TRANSPLANTATION OF " INDEPENDENCE" FROM THE NATIONAL
TO THE EUROPEAN PLANE THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT OF A
" EUROPEAN UNION" CAPABLE OF EXERCISING INDEPENDENT
ACTION VIS- A- VIS THE SUPERPOWERS, ALONG LINES FAVORED
BY FRANCE;

C. DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH IN ORDER
TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR FRANCE' S PLAYING A MAJOR, AND
HOPEFULLY PREDOMINANT ROLE IN EUROPE; AND

D. THE MAINTENANCE OF STABILITY IN EUROPE VIA DETENTE
WITH THE EAST AND CONTINUED GERMAN ADHERENCE TO THE
WEST.

3. FRANCE SEES THE EFFORT TO REVITALIZE THE ATLANTIC
RELATIONSHIP AS POTENTIALLY CHALLENGING THESE BASIC
TENETS. WE ARE FACING, THEREFORE, A POSSIBLE FUNDAMENTAL
DISAGREEMENT WITH FRANCE OVER THE NEED FOR A YEAR OF EUROPE.

4. INDEED, IN FRENCH EYES, THE STATUS QUO IS PREFERABLE TO
ANY " UNKNOWN" REVITALIZATION BECAUSE AT PRESENT:

A. THE US PROVIDES A LOW COST SECURITY BLANKET UNDER WHICH:

B. THE EUROPEANS CAN DEVELOP THEIR UNION AND FRANCE CAN:
SECRET



C. USE EUROPE' S DEVELOPING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRENGTH
AS A BASE FOR PROMOTING FRENCH VIEWS ON MAJOR POLITICAL
ISSUES SUCH AS IN CSCE, AND IMPOSING FRENCH VIEWS IN THE
ECONOMIC AND MONETARY AREAS.

5. THE FRENCH HAVE UNTIL RECENTLY BY AND LARGE SEEMED
UNAWARE OR UNCONVINCED THAT BUILDING DOMESTIC US PRESSURE
RENDERS IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS
QUO AND THAT REVITALIZATION OF THE TRANS- ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP
IS NECESSARY. AT OTHER TIMES THEY HAVE SEEMED AWARE, BUT
PREPARED TO RUN THE RISK THAT A NEGATIVE OR AT BEST
PASSIVE REACTION TO OUR PROPOSALS COULD ENDANGER THE
FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP.

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

6. PEHAPS, MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT' S JUNE 19 SPEECH CONTAINS THE FIRST SIGN THAT THE FRENCH MAY NOW APPRECIATE THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THESE PRESSURES. HOWEVER, THE SPEECH SUGGESTS FRANCE MIGHT REACT BY VAGUELY " POSING THE QUESTION" OF THE NEED FOR EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY IN THE DEFENSE AREA, ( BUT WITHOUT THE CONCOMITANT REVITALIZATION OF TRANS - ATLANTIC LINKS THAT WE SEEK), ON THE GROUNDS THAT AN EARLY WEAKENING OF THE US COMMITMENT IS INEVITABLE BECAUSE OF BOTH US DOMESTIC PRESSURES AND US- SOVIET " COLLUSION."

7. AT LEAST TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONCERNING US- EUROPEAN RELATIONS ARE NOW PREVALENT IN FRANCE. ONE FAVORED BY INFLUENTIAL JOURNALISTS SUCH AS LE MONDE' S MICHEL TATU FAVORS A " BRUTAL" UNILATERAL US FORCE REDUCTION AS THE SOLE MEANS TO SHOCK EUROPE INTO DEVELOPING ITS OWN DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS. THEY ARGUE EFFORTS TO REVITALIZE THE ALLIANCE WILL ONLY DELAY AN INEVITABLE PROCESS OF DIS- ENGAGEMENT WHILE SAPPING EUROPE' S RESOLVE. ONLY AFTER EUROPE HAS ATTAINED ITS OWN " SELF- RESPECT" IN THE DEFENSE AREA WITH A RESULTING LESSENING OF US PRESSURES IN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AREAS CAN IT AND THE US REALLY BEGIN TO CONSIDER A REVITALIZED RELATION. JOBERT' S SPEECH NOTED ABOVE AND FAVORABLE QUAI COMMENTS ON THE TATU ARTICLE COULD BE INTERPRETED AS POSSIBLY SHOWING INTEREST IN THIS VIEW.

SECRET



SECRET



40
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 RSR-01 OMB-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 EB-11 ACDA-19

MBFR-03 /136 W
---------- 035015
R 231257 Z JUN 73
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1257
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 PARIS 17349

8. THE OTHER MAJOR SCHOOL OF THOUGHT GENERALLY FAVORED UP TO NOW BY GOF OFFICIALS IS EQUALLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE DURABILITY OF THE US COMMITMENT TO EUROPE, AT LEAST AT PRESENT FORCE LEVELS. HOWEVER, THE GOF SEEMS ESSENTIALLY SEEKING TO BUY TIME AT MINIMUM COST TO FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY TENETS DURING WHICH IT CAN MAKE UP ITS OWN MIND ON WHAT FORM EUROPEAN UNION SHOULD TAKEN AND ON THE NATURE OF FUTURE US- EUROPEAN RELATIONS.
SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 17349 02 OF 02 231424 Z

9. THUS, POMPIDOU CALLS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF SIGNIFICANT US FORCES IN EUROPE AND FOR A STRONG ALLIANCE DEFENSE EFFORT WHILE FRANCE AVOIDS ANY CONCRETE PARTICIPATION IN BURDENSHARING. FRANCE ALSO CALLS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE ALLIANCE STRUCTURE WHILE ONLY BEGRUDGINGLY AGREEING TO REVIEW THE IMPACT OF CHANGE ON THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND SUGGESTING THAT A EUROPEAN DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY NECESSARY.

10. THERE ARE INFLUENTIAL GROUPS IN FRANCE, SUCH AS JEAN MONNET' S COMMITTEE OF EUROPE, WHO SUPPORT CLOSE US- EUROPEAN COOPERATION, LOOKING TOWARD AN EVENTUAL ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, THE INFLUENCE OF THESE GROUPS IS CLEARLY WANING. THEIR LEADERS ARE AGING AND THEIR IDEAS HAVE NOT CAPTURED THE IMAGINATION OF FRENCH YOUTH. IN SHORT, WE CAN EXPECT ONLY LIMITED SUPPORT WITHIN FRANCE FROM THIS QUARTER.

11. BEHIND SOME OF THE FRENCH OBJECTIONS TO REVITALIZING THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP LIES A FEAR THAT ANY WEAKENING OF THE PRESENT STATUS QUO COULD INTENSIFY THE SOVIET THREAT WHICH IN TURN COULD LEAD TO GROWING POSSIBILITIES OF GERMAN NEUTRALITY. IN FRENCH EYES THE PRESENT SITUATION WITH US AND SOVIET FORCES FACING ONE ANOTHER IN CENTRAL EUROPE PROVIDES THE BEST GUARANTEE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF STABILITY IN THAT REGION BECAUSE IT REDUCES GERMAN MANEUVERABILITY. HENCE, THE FRENCH OFTEN LINK OUR CALL FOR REVITALIZED ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP WITH GROWING US- SOVIET

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

COOPERATION AND ARGUE THAT THE NET RESULT WILL BE AN
INCREASE IN INSTABILITY IN EUROPE FOLLOWING ANOTHER " YALTA."

12. SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORILY, THE FRENCH ALSO FEAR THAT ONE
RESULT OF A REVITAALIZED ALLIANCE ALONG LINES FAVORED BY THE
US WOULD BE TO BLOCK THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE BY SUBMERGING
IT IN A US- DOMINATED ATLANTIC BLOC. ANY REVITALIZED
ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP CAN THUS, IN FRENCH EYES, ONLY
FOLLOW THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN UNION. SUCH A
DEVELOPMENT WILL IN THIS VIEW NEVER TAKE PLACE IF IT IS
PRECEDED BY A NEW ATLANTIC CONCEPT LEADING TO CLOSER
US- EUROPEAN TIES. A STATEMENT OF ATLANTIC PRINCIPLES MIGHT
AT BEST, THEREFORE, FOLLOW THE CONCLUSION OF CURRENT
SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 17349 02 OF 02 231424 Z

SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONS SERVING AS A SUMMATION OF THEIR
GLOBAL RESULTS AND A GUIDEPOST FOR THE FUTURE.

13. FINALLY, THE FRENCH HAVE ALMOST ALONE OBJECTED TO EFFORTS TO
DISCUSS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STATEMENT OF ATLANTIC
PRINCIPLES IN AN AD HOC MULILATERAL FORUM. THEIR VIEW
IS BASED ON :

A. CONCERN THEIR EC PARTNERS WILL SEIZE ANY SUCH OCCASION
AS A PRECEDENT FOR GIVING THE EC A POLITICAL CONTEXT WHICH
FRANCE ARGUES DOES NOT EXIST UNDER THE TREATY OF
ROME AND;

B. CONCERN THAT USE OF SUCH A FORUM COULD SET A PRECEDENT
FOR ESTABLISHING A US- EC DIALOGUE COVERING " GLOBAL"
QUESTIONS AND PROVIDING THE US WITH A MEANS TO " INTERFERE"
IN EUROPE' S INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT.

14. IN FRENCH EYES, EUROPEAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD FOLLOW SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL PATHS AT
LEAST UNTIL THE " EUROPEAN UNION" CAN BE MORE CLEARLY
DEFINED. MOREOVER, THE FRENCH RECOGNIZE THEIR ISOLATION ON
TRANS- ATLANTIC ISSUES WILL BE MORE VISIBLE IN THE
CONTEXT OF ANY AD HOC MULTILATERAL MEETING, THAN IN THE
CONTEXT OF EITHER BILATERAL MEETINGS OR DISCUSSION IN
EXISTING MULTILATERAL FORA. OBVIOUSLY THEY SEEK TO AVOID
THIS.

15. FRENCH RESERVE, SKEPTICISM AND SUSPICION TOWARDS OUR YEAR
OF EUROPE PROPOSALS ARE THUS BASED ON DEEP- SEATED FRENCH
FOREIGN POLICY TENETS. IN ORDER TO OVERCOME THESE CONCERNS,
WE MUST:

A. CONVINCE FRANCE THAT GIVEN GROWING PRESSURE IN
THE US FOR REDUCED OVERSEAS COMMITMENTS IT IS IN OUR MUTUAL
INTEREST THAT FRANCE AND EUROPE JOIN WITH US IN AN
EFFORT TO REVITALIZE THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP IN ORDER

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

TO MAINTAIN THE VIABILITY OF OUR COMMITMENT.

B. REEMPHASIZE TO FRANCE THAT THE US GOVERNMENT WHOLEHEAR-
TEDLY WISHES TO MAINTAIN THIS COMMITMENT AND BELIEVES IT
SECRET

PAGE 04 PARIS 17349 02 OF 02 231424 Z

IS IN THE US INTEREST AND ALSO IN FRANCE' S INTEREST
THAT FRANCE HELP US ACHIEVE THIS.

C. CONVINCE FRANCE THAT THE BEST WAY TO AVOID SELF- FULFILLING
PROPHESIES OF US DISENGAGEMENT VIA A UNILATERAL ACT OR
UNCOORDINATED SLIPPAGE IS TO JOIN WITH US IN REVITALIZING
THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP IN KEEPING WITH THE REALITIES
OF THE 1970' S.

D. POINT OUT TO FRENCH THAT THE TYPE OF ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP
WE PREFER REQUIRES THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STRONG UNITED
EUROPE WHICH THUS REMAINS A GOAL OF US ATLANTIC POLICY;
THAT THE US IS NOT SEEKING TO IMPOSE ITS HEGEMONY OVER
EUROPE AND IS SEEKING EUROPE' S VIEWS ON OUR FUTURE RELATIONSHIP
AND IS NOT TRYING TO IMPOSE US SOLUTIONS; AND

E. PERSUADE FRANCE THAT FAILURE TO AGREE ON A STATEMENT
OF PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE SERIES OF SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONS
FACING US WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY RESULT IN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS
CREATING MORE OF A SENSE OF CONFRONTATION THAN OF
COOPERATION WITH OBVIOUS NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE OVERALL
TRANS- ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP.
IRWIN

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

# Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X
**Capture Date:** 10 MAY 1999
**Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED
**Concepts:** n/a
**Control Number:** n/a
**Copy:** SINGLE
**Draft Date:** 23 JUN 1973
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960
**Decaption Note:**
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Authority:** boyleja
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
**Disposition Remarks:**
**Document Number:** 1973PARIS17349
**Document Source:** ADS
**Document Unique ID:** 00
**Drafter:** n/a
**Enclosure:** n/a
**Executive Order:** N/A
**Errors:** n/a
**Film Number:** n/a
**From:** PARIS
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Image Path:**
**ISecure:** 1
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730635/abqcegjk.tel
**Line Count:** 304
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE
**Office:** ACTION EUR
**Original Classification:** SECRET
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Page Count:** 6
**Previous Channel Indicators:**
**Previous Classification:** SECRET
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Reference:** n/a
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED
**Review Authority:** boyleja
**Review Comment:** n/a
**Review Content Flags:**
**Review Date:** 09 AUG 2001
**Review Event:**
**Review Exemptions:** n/a
**Review History:** RELEASED <09-Aug-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <13-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**
**Review Referrals:** n/a
**Review Release Date:** n/a
**Review Release Event:** n/a
**Review Transfer Date:**
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a
**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> srp 980227
**Subject:** FRANCE AND THE YEAR OF EUROPE
**TAGS:** PFOR, FR, US, EEC, NATO
**To:** STATE INFO ANKARA
ATHENS
BONN
BRUSSELS
COPENHAGEN
LISBON
LONDON

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

LUXEMBOURG
MOSCOW
OSLO
OTTAWA
REYKJAVIK
ROME
THE HAGUE
NATO
EC BRUSSELS UNN
**Type:** TE
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005